1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

PLATE 26 [1/A]

Pygmy Physical Types, Epulu District, Central Ituri

888 142 [292] a. An Mbuti elder. Too old to be a successful hunter, he can be sure of food and shelter, provided by the younger generation of hunters, for as long as he lives. The genet skin hat is not a formal indication of status, but, effectively, only elders are likely to wear hats of any kind.

142 885 576 [304] [201] b. An Mbuti hunter, upon whom, together with his wife, falls the main burden of providing for young and old. He will address the elders as "mother" and "father," regardless of actual kinship considerations, and he will have toward them all the same obligations that he has toward his biological parents. The hand gesture, a snapping of the fingers onto the palm, is used in conversation as an indication of speed or sudden activity.

1/A. /Plate 26 appears on page 285--Analyst/

[P 284]

I: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

888
142
292
302

/Plate 26-A/

[P. 285-A] /Caption appears on p. 284/

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

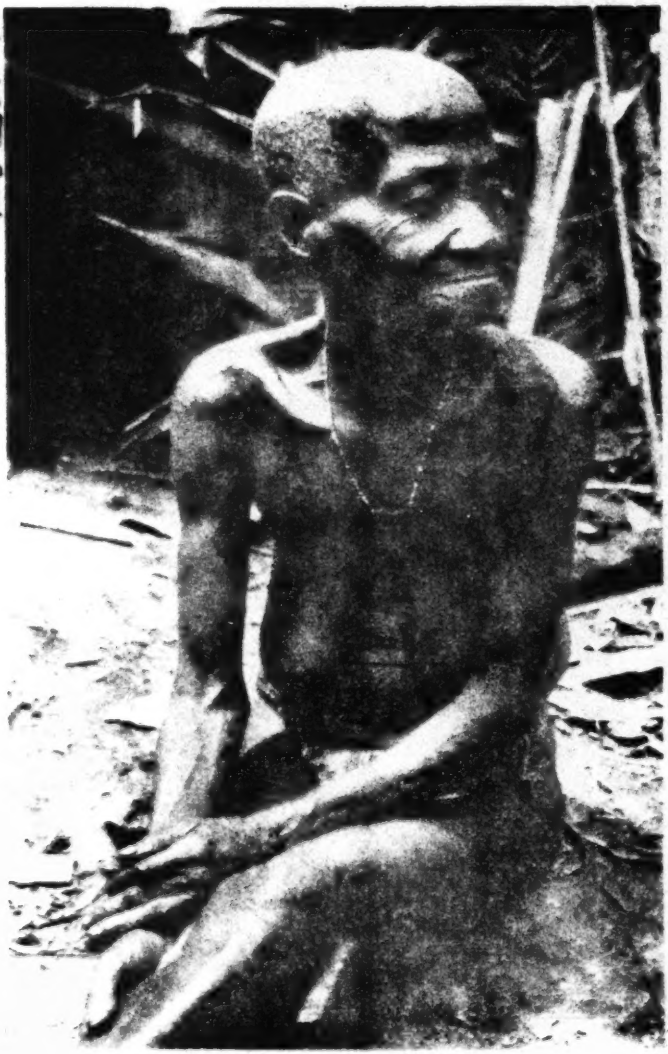
885
142
201
302

/Plate 26-B/

/Caption appears on p. 284/

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
301
888
177
516
302



/Plate 27-A/

/Caption appears on p.286/

[P.287-A]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

854
142
302

/Plate 27-B/

/Caption appears on p. 286/

[P. 287-B]

1: Turnbull E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
302
855
851

/Plate 28-A/

/Caption appears on p. 288/

[P.289-A]

/1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
302
882
885
202

/Plate 28-B/

/Caption appears on p.288/

[P.289-B]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

621
602
887
• 142
302

/Plate 29-B/

/Caption appears on p.290/

[P 291-B]

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

• 142
302
516
462
342
824

/Plate 30-A/

/Caption appears on p. 292/

1: Turnbull E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
302
287
412
883
517
197

/Plate 31/

[p 295] /Caption appears on p. 294/

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
302
287
412
237
177

/Plate 32-A/

/Caption appears on p.296/

1: Turnbull E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
462
482
415
292
291
301

/Plate 33/

/Caption appears on p. 298/

1: Turnbull E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
302
291
222
412

/Plate 36-A/

/Caption appears on p. 304/

[P. 305-A]

142
302
262
222

/Plate 36-B/

/Caption appears on p. 304/

1: Turnbull E-4,5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
534
411
516
302

/Plate 37/

/Caption appears on p. 306/

142
291
935
716
881
533
519

/Plate 38/
/Caption appears on p.308/

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4 ●
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

[P.108-D]

PC
139
252
29
59
412
142
415

4. Mbuti girl helps village woman pound manioc in shade of plantain tree.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P. 108-E]

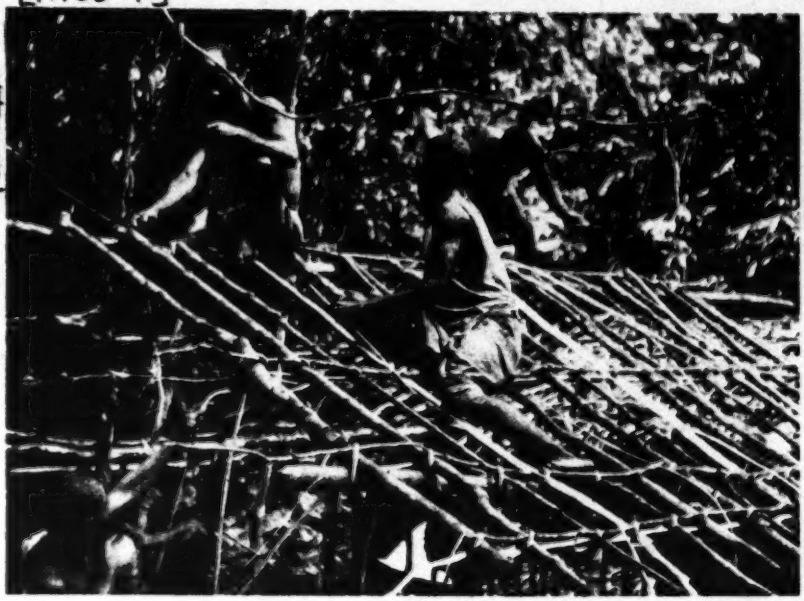
142
516
342
302
291
854

5. Mbuti women and girls rest as they bring roofing leaves into village for village houses.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4 •
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

[P.108-F]

PC
342
464
291
571
142



6. Mbuti men help villager build a new house, having cut and fetched the saplings for him.

7. Mbuti youths, in clothes provided by their kpara, are fed as part of their "payment."

PC
571
465
464
291
142

[P.108-H]

361
344
352
142
291
516

9. The Mbuti village *baraza* was never completed, and remained marked only by four posts.

142
516
412
415
853
482

10. While in the village camp, an Mbuti mother borrows or steals many luxuries too bulky or heavy to carry with her into the forest. Of the mortar and pestle, stool, metal cooking vessels, enamel bowls and bottle of palm oil, she will probably return to the forest with only one vessel.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

[P.108-I]

P
352
142
516
533
C
534
352

11. An Mbuti hunter amuses himself in the village by playing a village-made zither.

[P.108-J]

P
535
142
291

*P
[177]

12. Mbuti women may take part in a hoop dance while in the village, but traditional forest songs and dances are forbidden outside the forest. Note the body decoration on the leg of the woman to the rear; the dye is obtained from the gardenia fruit.

P
[302]
[386]

C
585
563
P
142
291
585
*177

13. A village wedding is arranged for the Mbuti hunter Makubasi. Here his bride, flanked by two sisters, stands in the middle of the village on banana-leaf cushions, fanned by her *kpara*'s sister. By arranging such marriages, the villagers hope to maintain some control over the Mbuti they believe they "inherit."

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

[R 108-L]

C
881
292
342

15. Village women of Epulu dance to celebrate an approaching *nkumbi* during which only Mbuti boys will be initiated, owing to lack of village boys of the right age.

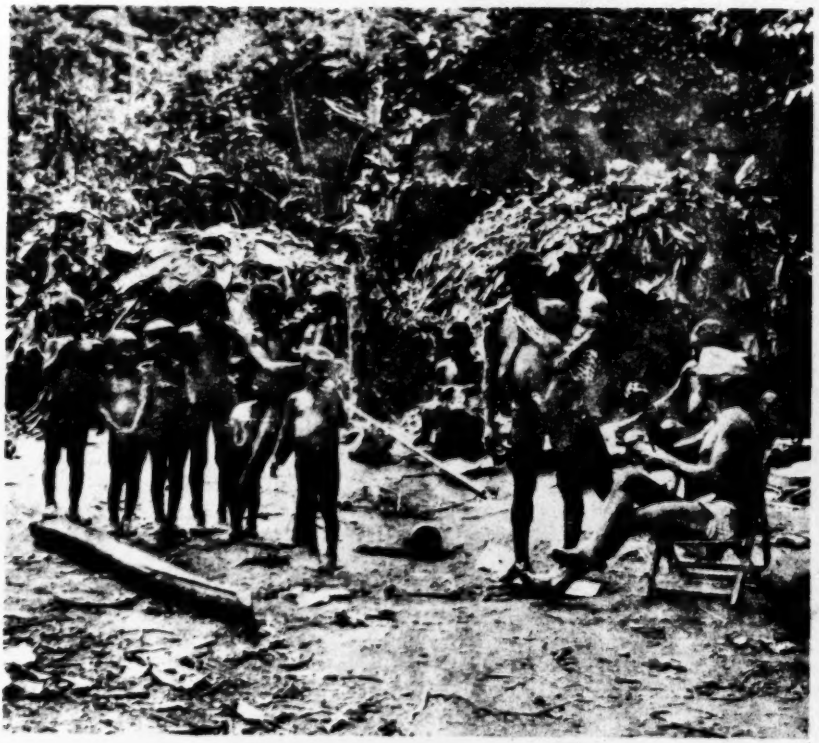
P
516
L42
881
304
152
C
[152]

16. A boy, just circumcised, is comforted by an Mbuti hunter. This would be considered a lasting shame by either a village boy or an adult, but the Mbuti see no shame in acknowledging and healing pain.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P. 156-C]

142
291
352
342
854



[164]

19. In one of Cephu's camps, Aberi talks to his family. His wife, her face ravaged by yaws, holds their youngest child in a sling of fresh-painted bark cloth.

• 142
302

[P.156-D]

20. Cephu the troublemaker,[2] but also Cephu the great storyteller.

[1][see pages 101-109; 194-198 -- Analyst]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P. 228-A]

142
516
252
291
302

[412
439] 21. A young Mbuti mother, sitting on a log, prepares mushrooms, using a village knife. Another such knife lies across her left foot. It is probably the most widely used utensil for which the Mbuti are dependent upon the villagers, though still not indispensable.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.228-B]

142
302
291
251
342
417

22. A young hunter prepares meat on a smoking rack for bringing to the village.

[p. 228-C]

142
302
412
287

23. A youth, Kenge, strips a piece of bark before it is soaked, prior to hammering it into cloth.

24. Strips of bark, softened by water or smoke, are hammered into cloth up to eighteen inches wide. There are many individual preferences for different types of bark.

142
302
291
287

[P.228-D]

142
291
881
535

25. Akidiwimbu celebrates her puberty and her forthcoming marriage *doing an elima* dance.

142
854
853

26. A young Mbuti mother, Epini, with her infant wrapped in a specially chosen piece of bark cloth. She will freely allow other women to fondle and even nurse her child, and will pass it around for the men to hold and admire.

[P. 276-A]

142
291
516

27. A common way of showing displeasure is to sulk, talking to no one. A young girl here keeps her back to her husband, wherever he might be, and refuses to cook his food.

[578
593
152]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P276-B]

142
854
516

[142]

28. Moké, an elder and a peacemaker, with two of his adopted families. It is considered no shame for an Mbuti male to fondle and care for the needs of even the youngest children.

[P.276-C]

142
302
291
415
516
372

29. A hunting fire is lit to announce to the forest that the hunt is setting out. Hunters on their way will pass by, but no special ritual is performed.

[224]

[P.276-E]

142
301
291
482
392

31. Cephu's wife, carrying an ember of the family hearth wrapped in fire-resistant leaves, and with her carrying basket on her back, sets off after the hunt. She will act as a beater with the other women and children, and will gather wild foods on the way.

[224]
462
[222]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.276-G]

142
302
291
883
224

34. A youth, recently initiated, is still considered far from manhood in the forest. Here he helps an older brother set up the net.

[811
345
973]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P·276-I]

142
302
291
202

36. When the kill is assured, a youth signals back to the camp and to other hunters, to let them know what kind of game has fallen into whose net. Relatively complex messages can be signaled in this way, variations in rhythm combining with variations in pitch achieved by flexing the elbow, which forms a sound box when clapped with the other hand.

[P. 276-J]

222
142
302
291
412

37. Honey-gathering usually involves climbing to great heights, but honey is occasionally found near ground level. Only if found in fallen tree trunks can the honey be collected by women.

38. Honey is highly prized, but is nonetheless shared among all. Here Kelemoké's uncle, Masalito, shares with his favorite nephew.

222
142
302

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P 276-K]

142
302
534

39. The musical bow, apart from the wooden clappers used during the *molimo* and during the honey season, is the only musical instrument that seems to be original to the Mbuti. Even this is slightly used, the one here simply being a hunting bow tapped by an arrow, the mouth acting as the resonator. An extremely musical people, the Mbuti are, unlike the villagers, vocal rather than instrumental.

40. Balekimito, the old lady who "died well," and for whom the exceptionally long *molimo* festival was held. The charm around her neck, stolen from the villagers, would have been regarded by the Arabized Ngwana as powerful magic. For her it was a mere ornament.

142
302
301
886
765
789

hunter he was blessed with a large family. He had a powerful and penetrating voice, took an active part in any dispute, and usually managed to shout his opponents down, which is one of the chief ways the Pygmies have of settling a dispute. His family were all strikingly fine-looking, with almost Greek-like appearance although of normal Pygmy stature—under four and a half feet.

Most Pygmies have unmistakable features, other than height, that set them apart from the Negroes. Their legs are short in proportion to their bodies; they are powerful, muscular, and usually splay-backed; their heads are round and the eyes are set wide apart; they have flat noses almost as broad as their mouths are long. The head hair grows in peppercorn tufts, and the body hair varies from one extreme to the other—some Pygmies are covered thickly from head to foot. Another characteristic is the alert expression of the face, direct and unafraid, as keen as the body, which is always ready to move with speed and agility at a moment's notice. All these traits are uncharacteristic of the Negro tribes that live in the forest around the Pygmies. These tribes are a rather shifty, lazy lot who survived the ravages of Tippu Tip's slave-traders by treachery and deceit. In the villages you will sometimes find Pygmies who are like this too, but they are scorned by the BaMbuti who have remained in the forest and have refused to be settled.

Masisi's children had finer features, with longer faces and straight noses, and they were slimmer and less stocky. His eldest son, Ageronga, was a fine hunter and often used to take his father's place.

Another member of the same clan, a cousin of Masisi's, was Manyalibo. A traditionalist, he was older than Masisi, and the son of an elder brother of Masisi's father, yet he had less say in everyday matters because he was not such an active hunter. Nor did he have such a fine family. He had two daughters of his own, but no sons, and although he had adopted a distant nephew, Madyadya, the boy was proving a great trial, having been spoiled by everyone, as orphans

THE GOOD DEATH OF BALEKIMITO

156

About a year after I had left the last time, Kolongo had been killed by a crocodile, and his mother had been so upset she had left the group and her entire family, and gone back to her old village. Her other son, Ekianga, remained as head of the family. It was a different clan but related by marriage to Njobo and Masisi and Manyalibo.

Ekianga was anything but a traditionalist in some ways, though in others he was as conservative as the rest of his relatives. His most [595] untraditional act was to have three wives. He was a very great hunter, and as vain as could be, and he liked imitating the ways of the outside world, where it is a sign of wealth to have many wives. The Pygmies say that one is enough to manage, and judging by Ekianga's constant domestic difficulties they are right. He was hairy, broad-chested, and powerful almost to the point of ugliness, and from somewhere he had learned how to put on a perfect toothpaste smile. He always built his huts a different shape from everyone else's, [342] and in the Pygmy camp near the village his house was the biggest and the smartest of them all, sheltering his entire ménage.

His youngest wife was a beautiful girl called Kamaikan. She was [142] even lighter than most Pygmies, yellowish-brown, instead of the more usual coffee-brown. Her brother and mother also lived with the 156 same hunting group, and there was constant friction, for on marrying 596 her Ekianga had given a "sister"—actually a fairly distant relative— 583 to her brother, Amabosu, in exchange. This exchange is made with 578 the full consent of all parties, but none the less it leads to a division of loyalties, and Amabosu was a very temperamental Pygmy. He was 156 a fine hunter, but he was particularly renowned as the best singer and best drummer and best dancer in the area; for these qualities alone his prestige was enormous. His skinny old mother, Sau, was 156 not without fame of her own. Old and infirm people, amongst the 888 Pygmies, are regarded, not exactly with suspicion or mistrust, but with apprehension. In a vigorous community of this kind where mobility is essential, cripples and infirm people can be a great handi-

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
302
291
239

Tungana, a grandfather many times over, in a gennet-skin cap.

[P. 72-B]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
302
534
411
115

Kenge uses a hunting bow as a musical instrument.
[P. 72-E]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

000

Opposite: Asofalinda's eldest daughter being painted with *kangay* juice for a wedding.

• 142
291
881
535
585

Akidinimba (in hat) celebrates her forthcoming wedding with the other girls of the *elima*.

[P. 72-G]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
302
301
516
585
824

Asofalinda's eldest daughter being painted with kangay juice for a wedding.

[P 72-H]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

Masalito comforts the young Kaoya during the *nkumbi* rites at a Negro village.

142
302
881

[P 72-I]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
361
342
352
516

A Pygmy camp. This one is Cephu's.

[P. 72-J]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4 •
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P
C
137
252
142
291
571
412
415

A Pygmy woman (right) helps a villager pound locally grown rice.

[P. 72-K]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

000

Opposite: A Pygmy woman (right) helps a villager pound locally grown rice.

Old Moke (in a sloth-skin hat) listens as Cephu tells a legend.

142
516
854
538
237

[P.72-L]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

142
302
222

Kelekome and his uncle, Mazalito, examine a piece of honeycomb to see if the hive is ready for raiding. Honey is probably the most prized food in the forest.

[P.72-M]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

an empty basket at him and said, "There, you make so much noise, go and fill it yourself." Even before the hunt went off there were two full baskets hanging up, and by evening there were four.

The change between the atmosphere of the morning and that of the evening was unbelievable. Usually when a day starts off in such ill humor it continues in that way to the bitter end. But the hunt seemed to restore everyone's good spirits, even though it was not outstandingly successful. I did not go on the hunt, but stayed in camp. And all day long the girls were singing in Kondabate's house, and the old woman was with them.

After we had eaten the evening meal Manyalibo went around the camp himself and took a piece of wood from the fire outside each hut, placing them all on the molimo fire. Then, before it was completely dark, the men gathered to sing. Even Cephu was there, and the singing was light and cheerful. The girls that had been in Kondabate's hut came out as soon as we started. They had painted their bodies with black kangay juice, and in their hair they had twined circlets of vine, one strand of which stuck way out in front, over their foreheads, with a small bunch of feathers dangling from the end. They kept together in a tight little group, their bodies swaying in unison to the songs of the men. Then they began to dance, still so close together that I could not see between them. They danced all around the group, forcing us closer and closer to the fire. In a snaking, graceful line they seemed to take charge of the music, increasing the tempo until the men were as exhausted as they were, and we all stopped for a rest.

By then it was dark, and I expected the girls and the rest of the women and children to retire to their huts. But they had built a fire of their own at the edge of the molimo group, and there they all sat, chatting inconsequentially as though they did this every night. It was then that I first noticed the old woman. Under a great headdress of vine and feathers her hatchet face looked more angular than

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

ever, thin and straight, with eyes still wide and unblinking and, it seemed, unseeing. She sat in the middle of the group, hugging her knees. Her skin sagged in withered folds, her bones stuck out in ugly lines and bumps. She made a strange contrast with the background of young feminine beauty and vitality. The only time she so much as moved was when Kondabate joined the group.

Kondabate, the belle with filed teeth and great diamond-shaped scarifications on her stomach; Kondabate the beauty, who after two years of married life still preserved her fine upstanding breasts and trim figure—but also Kondabate the childless. She had on a headdress like the old woman's, and her eyes, too, seemed unnaturally wide and staring. She was smiling and happy—until she sat down opposite the old lady. That was when the old woman moved, looking up from the fire into Kondabate's eyes. In an instant Kondabate seemed to lose her smile and her happiness. She became as empty as the withered old shell of a woman in front of her, and she sat as quietly, staring into the flickering flames.

After a while the men started singing again, but gently, and then with a shock I realized that the women were singing as well, the sacred songs of the molimo. And they were not just joining in, they were leading the singing. Songs that I had thought only the men knew and were allowed to sing—all of a sudden the women were showing that they not only knew them but could sing them with just as much intensity. Kondabate suddenly sprang up and seized the banja sticks from Kelemoke, and began beating the urgent molimo rhythm: *one* two, *one* two three, *one* two three. She beat the banja faster and faster, and I saw the old woman begin to twitch in every muscle. Kondabate was already half dancing, and it was as though she was passing the life and force from her body into the dried-up skinny old body in front of her. The old crone's legs started stamping up and down, and she sat back on her buttocks so that she could lift her feet higher. Then her arms began moving, pointing in

4: Putnam E-5 (no date) 1948 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

which occurred during its period of isolation. This not only forms a strong bond between the pygmies and their hosts but it gives them a formal sequence of age grades in their own society. There are no special scarifications or other insignia for each class; it is a common experience to hear one person asking another, when strangers meet, "What class were you in? I am a Hurricane," and so forth, just like Harvard alumni asking each other what class they were in, and whom they knew, over a drink.

Pygmy Locomotion

The pygmies are very expert at getting about through the forest, and especially at moving swiftly through the thick undergrowth that a white man would have to chop down with a machete before he could enter. To a Negro, a white man trying to get through seems clumsy. To a pygmy a Negro seems clumsy. Schebesta observes that the small size of the pygmies makes them better adapted to locomotion in the forest than the larger Negroes and whites.[1]

The pygmies jump over fallen logs, and make their way using hands and feet—hands to toss dead branches and trunks aside. They can actually run through this tangle, and while so doing they sometimes pick up fallen logs and throw them so they will crash at a distance, to mislead pursuers, or game which they are stalking.

They are also very expert at climbing; the children practice this from babyhood. Their technique is far from simian, but a widely distributed method, similar in principle to that of a lumberjack. The climber cuts two

[1] Schebesta, P., *Revisiting My Pygmy Hosts*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1936. pp. 78-79.

[P. 325-B]

ways associated with *crises* and *change*, you will see that the reason is to be found in the lack of annual variation in the climate, and the paucity of critical situations. A thunderstorm, accidents in the water, and the excitement of an elephant hunt all have their rituals. Physically the African pygmies described by Putnam are much like the Andamanese, and many culture historians have speculated about their cultural similarities. What can you see that the two peoples had in common which might not be explained away by the similarity of environment alone?

[p. 342]